

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LIPINSKI] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. LIPINSKI addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WISE] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. WISE addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. OBERSTAR] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. OBERSTAR addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

#### DORNAN TO ANNOUNCE PRESIDENTIAL BID

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, and I am particularly pleased that you are in the chair tonight, sir, because, given the change of events today, which enabled us to finish tomorrow's work this evening, thereby having no votes tomorrow, just our well-deserved Republican majority celebration for completing the 100 days of the Contract With America in only 93 days as of today, I decided that although I got this time, from the Speaker, to honor our Americans that died over the longest period of any sea battle in history, Guadalcanal was 7 months of land and sea battles, but the battle of Okinawa, which began on April 1, 1945, 50 years ago, and reached a crescendo today after a slow beginning that persisted for over 87 days, with one of our Members who has served on both sides of the aisle, BOB STUMP, a conservative Democrat, came here with me in our bicentennial year election, sworn in January 4, 1977, and after 6 years of seeing his party drift to the left, actually not 6 years, less than that, about half of that, he became a Republican, and now is the No. 2 Republican in seniority on the National Security Committee, formerly the Armed Services Committee.

BOB STUMP was a young 18-year-old sailor—he had joined at 16—in that battle of Okinawa, and he saw many sailors burned to death before his eyes in the fuel spread across the seas, watched some of the 34 ships that we lost sunk, and I will come back in May and do a full hour on the battle of Okinawa.

Tomorrow the largest battleship ever created, the Japanese *Yamamoto* was sunk with no survivors, almost 3,000 men. The Japanese this very day, BOB

STUMP was just telling me in the cloakroom—he has already flown back to Arizona—the Japanese lost 477 planes on April 6, 50 years ago, a world record for any aerial conflict.

This is quite a battle. I would love to have spent the whole hour on it.

But, Mr. Speaker, my good colleague from California, George, when I come back on May 1, I will be a declared Presidential candidate, one of nine.

I believe our Governor will declare during this month, Pete Wilson. I believe that BOB DOLE will start a trek back to Russell, KS, the most severely wounded Member in any war that serves in either the House or Senate. BOB DOLE declares Monday and starts back to be in Russell, KS, on Good Friday, the 50th anniversary of his crucifixion where his young body of 21 years of age was ripped for the rest of whatever life God gives him. I will start on Holy Thursday, declaring at the National Law Enforcement Memorial which is exactly like the Vietnam Wall, a memorial to those who gave their lives to protect our lives.

In the case of the police, or Law Enforcement Memorial, it will have names added every year till the end of our lives, Mr. Speaker. We added more than a dozen names just this year, I believe 14 or 15, and two of them were female officers who died in the line of duty. The Vietnam Wall has just about ended with changing names from missing in action or POW, the last one, Col. Charles Shelton who was lost on his 33d birthday, southeast Asia, a known POW for 5 years, he, just a few months ago, was declared presumptive finding of death.

There are no POW's left on the wall. Missing in action monthly are turned into killed in action. But the Police Memorial will be updated each year with the names of young men and women and some not so young. I found a Dornan on there who was killed in the line of duty as the chief of police in a small West Virginia town.

This living memorial is truly something to visit. It is very moving. And because crime is one of our No. 1 issues, I will start with my declaration on Thomas Jefferson's birthday, the founder of the oldest party in America, now the minority party in the House and the Senate, and when I think of Jefferson, I think of two things. I think of "least government is the best government" and I think of what is inscribed inside of that beautiful Jefferson Memorial across the reflecting pond with all of the beautiful Japanese cherry blossoms that were given to this Nation in 1912, such a living gift, when they were our friends and our allies through World War I.

But inside that Jefferson Memorial, up in the frieze area it says, "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal vigilance against every tyranny over the mind of man."

This founder of the Democrat Party, it is a nice day to declare on the 13th, but I will be heading toward my prin-

cipal day of declaration, which is Easter Sunday.

We take the train, my wife, and I, two sons-in-law, a daughter-in-law, all of our five grown children, two sons, three daughters, and nine grandchildren—it is going to be quite a gaggle—on the Amtrak train to Boston, be picked up by young Republicans on the morning of the 15th, and then we will go up to Exeter, NH, in front of the once hotel, now business building where the Republican Party was born.

Three cities claim this honor, Jackson, MI, Ripon, WI, but I think Exeter has the edge, at least on dates, Columbus Day, October 12, 1853.

Our party was born over a moral issue, slavery, taking people's lives, the fruits of their labors, enslaving them, taking away their freedom.

The abortion issue in this country is equally the moral issue of our day, because you don't just steal a person's months and years and the sweat of their brow. You take their life away. You snuff out their life. You crush their little skull in the womb. You flatten their brain waves. You snuff out that heartbeat. Every abortion stops a tiny little beating heart because that heart starts between day 18 and 20 and most women don't even know they are pregnant except a little feeling inside that your body is changing, that you have human life inside of you, a whole different genetic package, a different gender possibly, different hair color, eye color, different height, different bone structure, a total genetic package with a little heartbeat and by day 40 a brain wave.

This is an important issue. That is why I chose Exeter. Not only is it the birthplace of the Republican Party, but a birth born of a moral issue, slavery.

Then we are going across the State, it should not take more than an hour. We may stop in Manchester and say hello to some of the folks at one of the Nation's greatest newspapers, the Manchester Union Leader. Then we are going over to Nashua, to Nashua High School, in the gymnasium, to resurrect a memory that is certainly good for me and I hope will incline people to understand that I not only was conservative before it was cool, I was conservative by decades ahead of some of my worthy colleagues that are declared.

I will declare again at the Nashua High School gymnasium where Ronald Reagan, fair and square, beat George Bush in 1980, when he grabbed that microphone from Mr. Breen, who is now a newspaper editor over by the seacoast in Portsmouth, and mistakenly called him Mr. Green and said, "I've paid for this microphone."

There was only one Congressman there for Ronald Reagan, it was yours truly, Mr. Speaker, BOB DORNAN. I had a great Senator sitting there next to me, Paul Laxalt and on the other side, Bush, having served in this House from 1967 to 1971, had about 15 Congressman there, several Senators. He had the

rooting section, but Ronald Reagan carried the day.

I want to resurrect that memory for the press in New Hampshire and whoever else has any interest in my candidacy.

Then we will car caravan with young Republicans at the helm down to New York City, Easter Sunday, where I was born, in Harlem, 110th Street, April 3, 1933, the 30th day of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's 12-year-plus Presidency. We have graciously received 20 seats from one of the greatest cardinals in church history, Cardinal John Joseph O'Connor of New York. We are going to his Sunday Mass, that is my wife's birthday which makes it extra nice, Easter Sunday, and our 40th wedding anniversary.

We will stand, at a quiet moment that early moment that early afternoon, at the altar where my parents were married June 27, 1929, a few months before Black Tuesday and the crash. They did not come home from their honeymoon. My dad, a young 37-year-old New York businessman, said sell it all off, the first loss is the best loss. I've got more important things to do. I'm on my honeymoon.

They went as far as the Holy Land. My mom was 29. Irish folk got married earlier in those days. I married by wife on her 21st birthday, 13 days past my 22nd birthday.

We will renew our wedding vows. Then we will stay overnight, go out and declare again for anybody that is interested on Ellis Island, because I still haven't sorted out in my head the fair way to approach illegal immigration as opposed to legal immigration because this, as our Speaker describes it, is an unique civilization. The American civilization is composed of people from every continent on the Earth, from Australia to all of Eurasia, to our second largest continent Africa, to South America, from American Eskimo Native Americans to every part of the world, all the islands in the Pacific.

In my old part of my district that is ED ROYCE'S district now, we swore in 800 people a few weeks ago, and the largest group was Vietnamese-Americans. Then Mexican, about to become Mexican-Americans. Then Koreans, about to become Korean-Americans. And the list went on through about 38 different countries.

We are a melting pot of the world. If we cannot make the dream work, nobody can.

Then we are going over to the Statue of Liberty, a nice way to begin a Presidential race. Then I will come back here in Virginia, answer a few more press questions, do the regular routine that has become de rigueur now, the Larry King Show. Face the Nation is going to give me my own half-hour for the first time in my life. I did Meet the Press way back in 1982. Maybe I will get a second shot at that.

Then I am joining a great group of American Republicans.

Mr. Speaker, BOB DOLE, PHIL GRAMM, DICK LUGAR, ARLEN SPECTER, four sitting Senators, one Congressman, two former Reagan appointees, Pat Buchanan and Alan Keyes, terrific guys, both great radio talk show hosts, great writers, great columnists, wonderful speakers, and a former Governor, Lamar Alexander of Tennessee; and a current Governor.

That is the field of nine. I don't think it is going to expand much. All of this field—I don't even want to exclude myself—I'll be vain enough to say, including me, we stand head and shoulders in character and integrity and in political skills, I believe, above the current occupant of the White House. This is an honor to go out on the road with them.

I see my pal, my friend, my colleague from the other big sunshine State and retirement State, Florida, in the well. As I recognize him, let me get in one piece of history first, then I am going to tell everybody why I am running for President.

□ 1930

Do you know, Mr. STEARNS of Florida, how many members of the Democratic Party in the House of Representatives have gone from this, the world's greatest parliament, the world's greatest deliberative body, right to the White House? The answer is zero.

Do you know how many Republicans have done it? Our minority leader from 1880. A highly decorated Civil War two-star general. James A. Garfield, not known outside of Ohio, won it on the 36th ballot in Chicago, and was shot on day 120. Would have saved him in a week and he would have been back on the job in two or three weeks today. No anesthesia to probe for the bullet. No X-ray to look for it.

After 80 days of suffering, took him to the New Jersey coast to get out of this hot city. He died on day 200. That is it for this House.

Now we have got lots of people who served here and went on to the Senate, to governorships or to a long gap, like Lincoln served 2 years, lost the Senate race in 1858 to Douglas, and then got elected President. His last immediate job was here in 1847 to 1848. That is the only man to make it from this House directly to the White House.

People say, "DORNAN, when was that? 1880? Look at the odds you are against."

Let's talk Senators. In the 1700s and 1800s not a single U.S. Senator ever went from the other body to the White House. In this entire century, and it is almost over, 95 years, I am speaking 206 years of history, two, 1 Democrat, John F. Kennedy, and 1 Republican, Warren Harding, a Senator who had been a newspaper publisher who was dead when he was five years younger than I am, died at age 57 in his third year in the White House. That is it. One Senator from each party. No Democrats. One James A. Garfield, Civil War general, who had been in the House about 18 years and was the minority leader. That is it.

Does that mean that Lamar Alexander has a lock on this or Pete Wilson? Not necessarily. Records are made to be broken. I am about to embark on a quest, a crusade that I think is going to be one of the most enjoyable years of my life, and as with most endeavors in life, only God literally knows the outcome.

Mr. STEARNS. If the gentleman would yield for just about 15 or 30 seconds.

Mr. DORNAN. I will yield to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. STEARNS].

Mr. STEARNS. Mr. Speaker, I came down just to say this is the 25th day of captivity for David Daliberti and William Barloon. I just want to mention this.

But before I say my piece here, I do want to let the gentlemen from California know how much I admire him. Frankly, I think you bring to the presidential debate something that is needed and that is a social conservatism that you have displayed. As you know, you and I voted many, many times in very difficult votes.

I think you are going to bring to the presidential debate items like prayer in school, which a lot of candidates will not talk about but that you have the courage to do. So I commend you for what you are doing; and I certainly, as you know, admire you.

But I wanted to point out to the Speaker that today marks the 25th day of captivity for 2 Americans held prisoner in Iraq. Their incarceration began on the 13th of March. They were tried and unfairly convicted on the 25th. The two men were sentenced to 8 years in prison simply because they made a wrong turn.

Mr. Speaker, we must continue to hold the two Americans in our minds and hearts. Twenty-five days is too long for any innocent American to be held in captivity, so I ask all Americans to recognize that this is the 25th day of their captivity.

Mr. DORNAN. Thank you for reminding us of that. Because if the audience on C-SPAN is 1.3 million going toward 1½ million, I mean dedicated people who have really come to know their government by watching C-SPAN, we can ask 1.3 million people right now to pray for these 2 fellow Americans to give them courage.

The worse part of their captivity is over: the slapping around, the torture, some beatings. Now comes the boredom and the drudgery.

DICK LUGAR, U.S. Senator, has gone out further than any of us calling for military action. People say, "Well, isn't that your style, Mr. DORNAN?" No, I am holding back my thunder because I think this is a crude bluff, and I think that diplomatically is probably the way to force this dictator's hand.

However, a friend of mine who is a great movie director, John Milleous, did "Flight of the Intruder," did a movie with Brian Keith, I think it was

called "The Wind and the Lion," about an American held captive in North Africa by one of the Berber leaders in Algiers or Morocco. Teddy Roosevelt was the President then, and he came out with a simple sentence. I believe the man's name was Porteralis, "alive or rastuli," dead. That was the Arab chieftain or warlord. The American citizen was soon released, and it turned out he was a Greek citizen about to become an American, and he did become an American.

But we can speak softly and carry a big stick because you try to do these things quietly and deliberately at first, but if it came down to a standoff and months went by, this is a republic. Clinton is not a royal personage. Every American is worthy of full support and protection by his country as Mr. Clinton gets from the Secret Service.

And I will focus like a laser beam on getting these two men out with proper challenge if they are not out. It is their 25th day, so I hope everybody will pray for their safe release. I have seen their families on television shows, and they are suffering and worried about them.

Mr. Speaker, why am I running? Tomorrow night I will be the sponsor at the confirmation for the oldest of my nine grandchildren, Richard Cobban. Ricky and other young people have said to me, "Why are you running?" The first thing that pops into my mind is so simple it probably sounds flip-pant: Save America.

We have a financial crisis, \$5 trillion of debt by this summer, and there is nothing any of us can do in this Chamber from either party or the U.S. Senate to stop that debt from creeping up to \$6 trillion before we begin to turn it around. I believe it will take us 30 measured years of dedicated work to pay off that national debt.

The average American is coming close to owing \$20,000, the newest baby, the oldest senior about to meet his maker. The average American family has \$76,000 worth of debt put on their back by the U.S. Government.

One stunning figure is, if you break this down monthly, just the interest on the debt, and we must pay that interest every year on time if we are a noble superpower, every average family's debt of just the interest is \$440 per month. How many people can afford to make a car payment that big?

So here is why I am running, and I have some thoughts written down. I would like to share them with this great electronic audience. Mr. Speaker, it looks like it is just the two of us and a few guests and our great Capitol Hill police in the gallery.

If you do not know already, Mr. Speaker, I am very different from most of my colleagues. I have found out in my 17th year here, 2 years out of office but staying in close contact, this is my 17th year in office. Nineteen years I have been around the Hill. I have noticed that I think differently.

I have a voracious appetite for history. It knows no bounds. I consider

myself one of the three true historians in Congress. If anybody else is, they sure keep it to themselves. The others being two Ph.D.s, NEWTON GINGRICH of Georgia and PHILIP CRANE of Illinois.

To a large degree, this sense of history, my sense of history is one of the major reason why I serve in Congress and why I will always try to lengthen my stride in service to my country.

In my 62 years, I have witnessed American men and women continuously, consistently, virtuously lay down their lives and their good names of preserve our liberty only to see that these twin pillars, liberty and virtue, only to see them trampled upon by the selfishness and greed of others.

In America, this beautiful, bountiful land, through the grace of God, we, the people, are the repository of power. The rise and fall of our great Nation rests squarely on the shoulders of the men and women in this Chamber and in the U.S. Senate and the occupant of the White House. We are only to blame in failure, and only pure humility prods us to credit God for our success.

The fact is that no civilization can long endure the hollow sustenance of fallen men and women, and I do mean fallen, Mr. Speaker, in the Biblical sense. We cannot have liberty without virtue, and we cannot truly be virtuous without liberty. Men and women must be free to choose virtue, but they must unequivocally choose virtue to be free.

Benjamin Franklin said it best as he described his, our, newly formed Nation to a woman who demanded, "Dr. Franklin, what have you given us?" And he responded, coming out of these long, secret sessions, he said, "Madam, we have a republic, if we can keep it."

A key reason for my Presidential quest is to focus on this vision for America and to say that my conservative friends who only concern themselves with economic issues are providing a grave disservice to the American people invoking the near deity of the marketplace on such altars as the "Baal Street Journal."

Well, these false economic priests of conservatism are little different than the Keynesians who believe we can use government to spend our way to prosperity or, for that matter, hardened Marxists who view the world with the tunnel vision of economic models and class warfare. Lord knows, Mr. Speaker, we have heard a lot of class warfare rhetoric, some of it poisonous, in this Chamber over the last 2 weeks, if not longer.

The truth is that without a moral base and a virtuous people, the free market simply cannot function. Happiness is not necessarily a derivative of prosperity. True happiness, true happiness comes from a deep and an abiding faith in God and in living the way that God intended.

The tendency toward only an economic view of life has given rise in social conservative ranks to what some pretenders call a cultural free market. Frankly, I have never met a purebred

conservative who believes in this cultural free market. Nor, by the way, have I ever met anyone who believes in a decadent society with a balanced budget.

The fact is that successful political leadership demands that some cultures be discouraged and other cultures encouraged. Any American, let alone any of us seeking the mantle of the Presidency who is unwilling to make these kinds of judgments, is hardly a productive citizen.

I disagree wholeheartedly with some of my econ-obsessed friends who pontificate that the market punishes immorality, and, therefore, that is reason enough why no social issues should be discussed in this campaign or in this Chamber or in the Senate or in any other campaign by a participant who is a Republican.

Let me tell you something, Mr. Speaker, and I am going to carry this message sea to shining sea, the defenders of the second amendment will back me up with this little play on words. Markets don't punish immorality; people punish immorality. People also reward immorality, which is why we have arrived at the sorry state in which we find our society today.

What do we and what do our public institutions and our debased popular culture consist of today if not wholesale corruption?

□ 1945

Please do not misunderstand what I am saying nor mistake the motives of true social conservatives. For instance, I am not talking about the wrong-headed and extreme use of using tax dollars to fund even wholesome art or Christian art or anything like that. But I am saying, keeping within this art framework for just a moment, that responsible leaders find ourselves morally compelled to make absolute judgments on what passes for art in contemporary society when tax dollars go to fund the arts, and as long as tax dollars are used to fund the arts, I would not dare leave such an important stewardship up to the marketplace to make that point, especially when today that art sells so well.

Once again, the false gods of prosperity and economics do not produce good citizens or even virtuous ones. Actually the reverse is true.

Our Founding Fathers understood this moral imperative better than anyone. The countless allusions to God and the Creator in their writings, including our Declaration of Independence, the very words ring out with a firm reliance upon divine providence.

When I was a 19-year-old aviation cadet, I took a ball pen and pressed that, the reverse of embossing, into my little, cheap blue Air Force binder with a firm reliance upon divine providence, we mutually pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, and of those 56 signers, almost the whole bunch lost their homes, burned to the ground, and many of their lives and all

of their fortunes. But they kept their contract with God.

It is true, these grant men were religious men, but they understood first and foremost that a free people had to be a good people, and when a nation stopped being good, it became enslaved.

The best of the ancient Greek cultures, the best of the ancient Roman cultures, and there was more corruption and decay and brutality and slavery than there ever were of these golden moments in those two amazing civilizations, but they taught us that when a nation stopped being virtuous, eventually all of the citizens were enslaved.

I have long held to a motto of "God, family, and country." To second the nomination of Vice President George Bush in the beautiful city of New Orleans in 1988 in August, I want for alliteration and changed "God" to "faith" to embrace all of the great religions of the world, and I changed "country" to broaden it out to "freedom," because my dad had offered his life to die for France and almost did, and I offered my life during the Eisenhower years to defend Hungary. We pulled back on that one, and I volunteered later to fight to not only save Korea but Vietnam, Israel, other small countries around the world.

And I had been out of the cockpit too long to be recalled on active duty, but I went to Vietnam to witness these heroes and their excellent nurses, which is where women mainly served in that tragic decade of trying to keep half of Vietnam free as we kept half of Korea free. I watched those young heroes, by now most of them younger than I, and it is a debt that I want to pay back.

Truthfully, I would declare in front of the Vietnam Memorial, but I know what the liberal press would say. "DORNAN is doing this to get at Clinton, DORNAN cannot let go of Vietnam, DORNAN is locked in the past." That is why I will pay a private visit there on the morning of April 13, I repeat, Jefferson's birthday, and then go to the National Law Enforcement Memorial for the first of several declarations during that 4-day period.

So I have long held to his motto, Mr. Speaker, "Faith, family, and freedom."

The world has always been divided along these lines, and it always will be as long as sin and transgression exist. The 20th century humanists' attempt to remove faith from civics has only deepened the divide which separates us as an American people.

We believe that a Creator grants unto us certain inalienable rights. Or do we not? Is that not how we were founded? In my view, Mr. Speaker, there was no greater political distinction to be made by any aspirant to the Presidency. We either believe as our Founders did, or we do not. Either God grants us our most fundamental of rights or man does, and if it is man, then man can also take away those rights in a heartbeat. But if it is God

who grants us these rights, then our allegiance as Americans should be to his goodness and his mercy. I take the latter view.

This is why I believe that liberty and virtue are absolutely inseparable.

The second component of my motto, and this would be on the family escutcheon, if I were not from dirt-poor Irish farmer background. If I had one of these beautiful brand crests, it would be, "Faith, family, and freedom," for this generation of Dornans.

Well, family, the traditional family, is what I mean in that battle cry. The family, along with a deep and abiding faith in God, is the basis for all successful civilizations. The family is the fundamental social, political, and economic unit of Western civilization, not the state, not the corporation, not the individual. Essential faith is first manifest, and because of this fact, the family is the most natural of settings from which to base all human actions including public policy.

It is a truism, Mr. Speaker, that no other success in life can compensate for failure in the home. Nothing. Nothing makes up for that. How many millionaires have we read about in fact and fiction that would pay millions of dollars to get back their son that committed suicide, their daughter who destroyed herself on drugs or turning herself over to the mean streets? Who can deny this, that anybody will squander his fortune to have the love back of a son or a daughter or to get back a wife in those early years that he just so easily let slip away from him because of irreconcilable so-called differences?

And yet an ever increasing march against the traditional family mounts up like an evil force in this United States of ours. The deadly combination of heavy taxes, levied by government at every level, county, State, Federal, and personal selfishness has both driven and led many women away from the home and encouraged men to justify their own familial neglect of wife and children. Onward to the new Mercedes, your income goes up, the wife's income goes down, and her struggle deepens.

To help save your families, we must substantially cut taxes, which means spending as well, of course, and we have got a good start on that, a small start in the last few days, and then we must do all we can within the proper bounds of governmental powers to encourage single-earner family wages so that mom can stay home when she chooses it with the children and so that dad can feel confident, or the mother, if she is the breadwinner, that he or she is able to provide sufficient income for the family, and in most cases because of that need for the mother to be with small growing children, I believe most families will opt for the traditional role.

And this does not mean in any way to cater to the almost vicious lie of flip-pant elitist media that traditional family people want to keep the mother home uneducated, pregnant, barefoot,

and slaving over the spaghetti. No; no. It means an intelligent family sharing in both roles, the husband the bread-earner when the children are tiny and need their mother around the clock, not quality care, an hour a day, not good day-care centers, which is a fruitless search for many families, but when those little children are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, what the abortion industry says is viable, that little 1-year-old viable, that 1-week-old viable, 1-month-old, 1-year-old. A 4-year-old is not viable; out they go into traffic to be kidnaped or torn apart by the mean streets again.

At what point are we really able to go out on our own without being nurtured through an educational process? I heard a philosopher say every generation is only 18 years from the savagery of the jungle existence, survival of the fittest, the cruel, the brutal rule, because it takes 18 years to prepare most people, and most civilizations, to play a productive part in society.

To help our families, I repeat, we must substantially cut taxes and spending.

Now, the last thing we in Congress should do is to create something like a Department of the Family. That would ensure the family's demise. We have seen what other departments have done.

The third and final component of my chosen motto is freedom, freedom, interchangeable with liberty. We must once and for all, before it is too late, return to our political roots and change, Mr. Speaker, what I will call the mechanisms of power.

Let me explain that. The first American revolution was certainly incited by the abuse of power; a great movie out now about King George, mad as a hatter, but more importantly, it was also the direct result of a corrupt power structure.

Today, like then, 1776, Americans face not only the abuse of power but the very same corrupt power structure.

To think, as do some of my neo-conservative or country-club Republican friends of the big-tent school, that is a simple change of personnel or an obsessive focus on money, and they think that will solve the problems of the Federal Government. It is not only crudely elitist, but it is downright offensive.

I have many friends of our new second American Revolution which began to take hold on November 8 last year, but I would no more trust them with the current mechanisms of power than I would trust Mr. Clinton. It is the mechanisms of power that must be altered.

I am for a flat tax. I have been for about 27 years. I was trying to figure this out the other night.

But as large an improvement as a flat tax would be compared to our current system of tyranny which punishes hard work and investment and savings, the best solution is one where the IRS is completely abolished. Is anybody ready for this in a Presidential campaign? I do believe the Nation is.

Let us face reality. The IRS is a creature of a planned economy, a socialist state. It exists solely as the enforcer, the muscle, for a comparatively few elitists who desire to control our lives. Without it, how could these liberal elites extort so much of our money, your money?

Yes, the flat tax is an improvement. But with the enforcement mechanisms of the IRS would remain in place. I think the chairman of our Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER], the man who actually took George Bush's seat in this Congress, is the right man, in the right place, at the right time.

A flat tax is a plateau for a few years to work out how we shut down the income tax.

I prefer the repeal of the income tax, Mr. Speaker, the repeal of the corporate income tax, the repeal of the capital gains tax, and any other tax which requires the IRS to enforce collections, and I would replace all of this with a national sales tax or a similar proposal.

What could be fairer? The rich would pay the bulk of the taxes while the poor, who spend very little in comparison, would pay little in comparison.

I mean, the Irish comedian, George Carlin, always talks about how the rich accumulate stuff, stuff, stuff, and more stuff. I know that urge. I am a collector, and my collections are little things, coins, stamps, little automobiles, model airplanes. There is still a lot of the little boy in me. But people who collect Duesenbergs and people who collect art, major art, and hide it out in their homes instead of donating it to museums where the poorest and humblest of us can share in that joy, they all do that when they are about a week from their death bed, some a little bit before. Andrew Carnegie, that dour Scot, is my ideal. He said it is more fun to give away money than to make it, and the perfect life is when you give the last dime of the money you earned during God's gift of life, you give away the last dime on your death bed.

We could even exempt the poor up to a certain income from some of this new tax structure.

That is what I mean by changing the mechanisms of power. I have got a lot of good people that I have met over my life that work at the IRS. They work hard, and we will get other good jobs for them that are not part of the elite structure.

Another example is abolishing the Federal Reserve and returning the power of money back to the elected representatives of the people. My pal Jack Kemp says, "I would rather be Chairman of the Fed, Chairman of the Federal Reserve, than President of the United States." Jack has studied this and knows the raw power of our good friend and decent man, Alan Greenspan.

I do not know about you, Mr. Speaker, but I am sick and tired of having an

unelected, little, tiny group of people come up to Congress every few months and tell the American people that our economy is growing too fast, and that one person, the chairman all by himself, has made the decision to stall the economy by artificially raising interest rates.

Why not speak the truth? Harmful inflation is not caused by a growing and productive economy. It is caused by government intervention in our money supply.

□ 2000

Now, I loathe violence. That is why I marched with Martin Luther King. I have to believe that our founders have taken a similar power structure with King George, out to the gallows, the full weight of the good citizens hard-earned money strapped to his ankles. They were not as patient as some court systems today.

I have introduced a bill on this subject, Mr. Speaker, H.R. 1130, to halt the absurd mechanism which allows advocacy groups, most of which are very left wing, to receive Federal grants and then turn around and lobby and protest the Federal Government to keep those tax dollars flowing.

Here is an example of what I mean about my legislation, changing again the mechanisms of power, H.R. 1130. The National Council for Senior Citizens, NCSC, it is a left wing, AFL-CIO front group, established in 1961 to help pass the Medicare bill, and they took in just \$105,000 in membership dues for the most recent year of record, 1993. \$105,000, less than the pay of one Congressman or woman. That same year they received over \$68 million in Federal grants. National Council for Senior Citizens.

They are a tax exempt political lobby. They rate us in this Chamber. They rate our congressional votes. They hand-picked votes to give some of us a zero rating, and others a 100 percent rating who did their bidding. They endorse candidates. What in the world, Mr. Speaker, are tax dollars going to fund the political activities of this left wing lobby group for? Just one example. American Education Union, on the national level, is another public institution held embarrassingly captive by powerful special interest groups. Going all the way back to the George McGovern, Shirley MacLaine Convention, that is the way I remember it best, in 1972, the majority of delegates were members of the teachers union, and it has been that way at every Democratic Convention since.

Under the circumstances, it is absolutely a no-brainer to abolish the Department of Education. BOB DOLE has called for this, Lamar Alexander, a former Secretary of Education under George Bush, Bill Bennett after he left that position and went to another job in the White House. I think before this race is over, all nine of us will be calling for the abolition of the Department of Education, as are most people in the

cloakroom that I have spoken to here on the Republican side of the aisle, the majority side.

Again, some of our friends who call themselves conservatives do more harm than good on this issue as they attempt to play to the very natural interests parents have in the education of their children. All we hear about from some so-called conservatives is how we need to train our children to compete in the world markets of the 21st century. More math, more science, more national goals and standards.

Well, whether we like to hear it or not, Mr. Speaker, it is just New World Order mumbo-jumbo in the main. All this talk of remaining competitive, the best, the best in the world, the best this, the best that, all of this for economic purposes only is global baloney. Global baloney. It is funny how we did not need this kind of political leadership to become the most industrious Nation that had ever existed. Only social engineers talk about America in macro terms as if they know better than parents what is best for their children and how to train them and how to educate them.

Education in America is not in jeopardy because parents continue to care. Education is in jeopardy because we have not yet taken the time to change the mechanisms of power, particularly at the Federal level, built up around our educational systems state to state.

Everyone knows that on the whole private schools and home schooling outperform public schools, and that given a choice, most parents, if they could, would send their children to private schools or keep them home, particularly given the violence and the guns and narcotics and the beepers and the knives that are carried in some urban schools. Not only urban schools.

But then why have we built up all of our mechanisms of power around a particular, bureaucracy laden public school system, and my younger brother is a proud and hard working public schoolteacher, why have we built up this system which locks up all of our children into an education of lesser distinction? Is it to help the poor? If so, then why not lift the poor up rather than pull a lot of middle class students down?

In changing the mechanisms of power, Mr. Speaker, surrounding education, we must remind ourselves that the essential state interests in education is liberty, and from liberty comes that virtue, and vice versa. It is not surprising that a socialist, welfare state mentality would ultimately pervert this state interest in education into some kind of class struggle, solvable by redistribution of the wealth enforced by the IRS?

I would rather abolish the welfare state before ever relinquishing over to some people who at their hearts are Marxists the real, real reason why we stress education in America. Abolish that Department of Education, repeal

compulsory attendance laws, and localize all schooling decisions, and our Nation will not only house the best educated and most literate people in the world; we will remain the freest people on Earth as well.

Lastly, changing the mechanisms of power, it is as they relate to defense and foreign policy. Mr. Speaker, we need such a spirited public debate on just what national interest means that I just yearn for this debate.

I am a staunch pro-lifer. Everyone round here knows that. But my allegiance to life does not stop in the womb. I care about every man and woman asked to give their life for our country. It is the very height of immorality to send American lives into harm's way without a crystal clear moral reason for doing so, and I released position papers on this on my birthday last Monday on all of the mistakes, some of them just through sheer stupidity and lack of understanding about why someone would dedicate their life to the profession of arms. Warriors hate war and do not want to have to lose any of the lives in their care.

This administration has been the worst in this century as far as not understanding why you do not put our Rangers and our Delta Force and our 10th Mountain Division in harm's way in the angry violent ridden streets of Mogadishu. We did accomplish saving 300,000 or more lives of women and children, but now they are left again to the non-tender mercies of the battling politicians there for power with their jeeps mounted with heavy weaponry, and we can only pray for them. The slaughter in Burundi this week, we could not extend a helping hand because Rwanda suffered severely, and we were unable to go in because of what Clinton showed in the way of absolute bankrupt leadership in Mogadishu. That is why the fathers and mothers of the two Medal of Honor winners who were given that medal posthumously because they tried to save Michael Durant's helicopter crew, and did succeed, in trading their lives for Michael Durant's life, getting him out of the helicopter, laying him down on the ground where God took over from there and kept him from being beaten to death as were his three other crewmen and the two rescuers. "Greater love than this no man has, that he give up his lives for his colleagues and friends." God bless Gary Gordon and Randy Shugart and their wonderful families and their wives, and those two little beautiful children of Gary Gordon, Ian and Brittany. This is what you have to understand when you are the commander-in-chief, that every family, every life of every man and woman in the military is precious.

What is our national interest, Mr. Speaker? Is it bailing out multinational corporations who roll the dice in a foreign land and then lose? Should we shed blood over an economic commodity, even oil in the Middle East? We had a great debate here at the be-

ginning of the 103d Congress. Everybody on both sides did themselves proud. But at least we fought it out here, whether or not we were going to lose 148 lives of our finest young men and several women to Scud missile attacks and plane crashes and a lady helicopter pilot flying into power lines in bad weather and desert sand. We lost the best, the very best this country has to offer, for a commodity. We should have debated that in depth.

Should we sacrifice lives in the names of foreign wars far removed from any direct threat to the United States? Sometimes, yes, we should help. I am not nearly as narrowly focused on this as my pal Pat Buchanan with his battle cry of "America first." There are many cases where we should help because we can help and we can save many innocent people. But it has got to be debated in this Chamber and the Senate, except for emergencies when the President has to act swiftly. And that is why I put in legislation to kill the War Powers Act, to give back the White House its full emergency power to use force.

I cannot tell you how many American veterans I meet who will break down and actually shed tears at the mere mention of men and women having to don the blue beret or blue helmet of the United Nations to risk their lives in battle under foreign commanders. It is a atrocity that some of our leaders would allow this to happen. To think that Americans bled and died, lost life and limb 50 years ago in Okinawa, or going back to the birth of our country, our revolutionary struggle, the Civil War between the States, World War I, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, Panama, the Persian Gulf, Somalia, only to see American sovereignty go out the window with a stroke of a pen. No one would ever, of course, ever see that under the presidency of this congressman.

There is no more enduring term for any Nation than sovereignty, when properly respected and constructed. In fact, if the United States were a person and we asked it to define itself, it would tell us that without sovereignty, it would not exist. Those leaders who would push us to shed our borders and merge our lives, our economies, our cultures and our governments into one big wonderful world government, ask for something they will only receive answerable through much uprising and probably bloodshed.

We are historically, Mr. Speaker, a moral nation, and a moral nation fights only moral wars. And that is why we have a Department of Defense, not a department of offense, of attack, or of war any longer. We must immediately begin to develop world class antiballistic missile systems to defend the homeland. Then and only then do we have the moral authority to establish peace through strength.

Somebody said to me what would be a blue print for your campaign, BOB? And I said how about the Preamble to

the Constitution? Just think of that preamble. "We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union," and there is the word union carved right into the Speaker's platform there along with liberty, "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare," and welfare in those days meant the common wheel of the commercial marketplace, a chance to success and farm and have small businesses, and that is what welfare meant in any 1700's dictionary, "and to ensure the blessings of liberty upon ourselves and our posterity," that is our children, "do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America."

There it is, provide for the common defense, right in the preamble, for the whole beautiful Constitution. The original contract is the Constitution. The original contract is the Constitution. And we have past in this House, it is one of the items in this Contract with America, the 24 Republicans jumped ship and the majority of Democrats voted not to defend the American homeland. We will defend our troops overseas, a moral obligation. We will defend our allies overseas with a ballistic missile defense from rogue missiles, if nothing else, but we are not going to defend our homeland yet by the Contract.

We can truly call ourselves a free people once we change all of the mechanisms of power, once we reassert the 10th Amendment, which this Contract does very well, that 10th Amendment to the Constitution, return the power back to the states and local communities, once we reaffirm property rights, Mr. Speaker, as the most basic of all our inalienable rights, once we send a clear message that multinational profiteers do not run this country wherein they expect to be bailed out every time they make a bad investment. Our founders already fought that war, and now we must renew the struggle.

This is the real revolution. What happened last November 8th is just the beginning. I am committed to ceiling this new second American revolution through to the very end.

Let me conclude with a few personal observations about principal leadership, and I will return in a month to do that hour on the heroes of Okinawa. For the next 87 days, since April 1st, we will be living through the 50th anniversary of the greatest Naval conflict ever fought in history, with 49,000 American seamen blasted apart or drowned or burned to death, and 4,800 wounded. That rarely happens where the wounded are less than your killed.

But let me conclude by saying I have always felt that principal leadership means not asking anyone to do something you would not do yourself. For instance, as president, this means the unenviable task of perhaps one day

calling your nation to arms and sending men and now young women into harm's way. What an insult it would be to have a President who never wore the uniform, when he had the obligation and the opportunity, if he was healthy. That is God's call. 4-F is nobody's fault. Or being a woman that is not subject to the draft or being alive not during a voluntary period. I mean when the obligation was there and you were healthy, to ask a young man to go in your place, and then to aspire to the mantle of the presidency, asking young men and women to die for their country or for some other country that truly needs us when that person refused to do the same when it was asked of him.

□ 2015

We have got to sort this out. This job of president is different than any governorship. It is different than any other role in our Nation because of this aspect of commander in chief.

Further, I have always felt, Mr. Speaker, that principled leadership also means self-control. What right does any man have to claim authority to govern the lives of others when he cannot control his own behavior? Fortunately, I do not see that problem with any of the nine candidates that are out before the people at the end of this month. Principled leadership sifts through the pack rather quickly.

I serve here in the House of Representatives, in my 11th year from Orange County and a very exciting six years from West Los Angeles in the late 1970's and early 1980's. I serve here because I want to help restore America to its former greatness and its promised future.

My last sentence, Mr. Speaker, is this, America's future will remain in jeopardy as long as leaders lack the guts and convictions to move the revolution. The first 100 days was important, but the second, third and fourth and fifth 100 days will reveal the character of this body.

We either stand for liberty and virtue or we cower toward a seemingly safe island of moral isolation. I stand for liberty and for virtue.

#### ON THE EFFECTS OF THE CONTRACT WITH AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. SANDERS] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Speaker, let me begin by quoting from an article that appeared on the front page of the New York Times today and what the article does is analyzes a poll that was done by the New York Times and CBS News. Let me read, if I might, the second paragraph on the front page. It goes as follows:

"Despite the best efforts of the Republicans to publicize and promote what they

call their legislative revolution, the survey," i.e., the poll that CBS and the New York Times did, "suggested that much of the public remains largely disengaged. Only 38 percent said they had read or heard anything about the Contract With America, the Republican policy agenda that has driven the House in these first three months. Forty-seven percent said they were 'mostly disappointed' with the first 100 days compared with 39 percent who said they were pleased, and Mr. GINGRICH's personal ratings remain remarkably negative."

What I find disturbing about the results of the poll is not really whether people cared about Mr. GINGRICH or how much they liked or disliked the Contract With America, what I find absolutely incredible is that only 38 percent of the people contacted said they had read or heard anything about the Contract With America.

Now, how can that be? Every single day on the front pages of newspapers there are discussions about the Contract With America. Turn on the television tonight, every news program will be discussing the Contract With America, and only 38 percent of the people had heard anything about the Contract With America. What is that about?

It suggests to me a very serious problem in America. And that is, by the tens of millions of people, ordinary Americans are tuning out and not paying attention, ignoring the politics that goes on in this country. This phenomenon was certainly reflected in the November 8 election that brought the Republicans power in both the House and the Senate. In that "mandate," 38 percent of the American people voted; 62 percent of the people did not vote at all.

The question, therefore, is, what is going on with American democracy? And the deeper question that I think we must ask ourselves is, to what degree are we, in fact, today a democracy, when the vast majority of the people do not vote and when tens of millions of people are not aware of what is going on in our society and within our political system?

Mr. Speaker, I would argue that perhaps, and I am not quite sure of the full reasons as to why so many people have given up on the political process. I do not really know why when Sweden holds an election, 90 percent of the people come out to vote. France is now in the middle of a major campaign. The guess is that over 70 percent of the people will vote there. And in Canada, our neighbor, over 70 percent of the people vote. I cannot tell you why it is that so few people in America have faith in the political system and no longer participate, no longer vote, no longer care about what goes on here in Washington.

Here every day people are yelling and screaming, but it does not mean much to the folks out there. I would argue that perhaps the major reason is that the average American today is hurting very, very badly. The average American family is in a lot of pain. We are becoming a poorer nation. Our stand-

ard of living is in decline. The gap between the rich and the poor is growing wider. Millions of Americans are fearful that their jobs are going to go to Mexico. They are going to go to China. Millions of Americans are working longer hours. They are afraid to stand up on the job and protect their rights and fight for their rights because they are going to get fired.

And I think with people in pain they look to Washington, they turn on the television and they do not see the reality of their lives reflected in the debate that takes place here in Congress. They listen to corporate America on the media. They do not see that reality reflected. And they say, Hey, I am in trouble. I am in pain. My standard of living is going down. My kids are going to have a lower standard of living than I am. I cannot afford health care. My job is going to Mexico. Who is talking for me? Certainly not the politicians. Why should I pay any attention?

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SANDERS. I yield to the gentleman from Oregon.

Mr. DEFAZIO. In response to that, I think that part of what breeds the disenfranchisement, the fact that people are turned off, is things like the bill that was passed here in the wee hours last night.

Funny thing, when Mr. GINGRICH had things in his contract and he wanted to trump it, we always stopped about the middle of the evening and then brought them up the next day so they could play it prime time. But two bills, term limits and now tax breaks, were voted on very, very late at night.

They are very cynically named. This was a bill to provide middle income tax relief. The gentleman touched on this very well. The only group of people who are consistently paying higher taxes in 1995 than in 1980 are middle-income wage earners, small business owners and people who work for hourly wages or a salary. They are paying more, because Congress jacked up the FICA tax, Social Security, dramatically, a regressive flat tax which is capped at \$64,000 a year of income, and also what has happened with bracket creep and other things.

The wealthy, those who earn over 200,000 a year, they were yelling and screaming like stuck pigs over the Clinton budget which put them in the normal 39 percent tax bracket, which is down from the 70 percent tax bracket that they were in in 1979. And, of course, they only paid the 7 percent FICA tax on the first \$60,000 of their earnings.

But then what people see, they tune in. And some of them would have voted for the new majority who were disenfranchised with what had happened to them. They saw their standard of living declined, and they asked for help and reached out for change and help. And they brought in a group of people who turned back the clock to the point